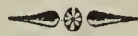


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Memoir on Maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr.—
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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The maps accompanying this memoir are primarily intended to show the results which a detailed study of Ancient topography in Kaśmīr Chronicle. Kalhaṇa's RĀJATARANĠIṆĪ has furnished regarding the early topography of Kaśmīr and the adjacent territories. From the first when engaged in preparing a critical edition of that text,¹ the earliest and most important of the Sanskrit Chronicles of Kaśmīr, I had realized that an exact identification of the very numerous old localities mentioned in it was indispensable for a correct understanding of the narrative. This conviction forced itself even more strongly upon me in the course of the labours I devoted to the preparation of the commentated translation of the work which is now passing through the press.²

¹ *Kalhaṇa's Rājataranḡiṇī or Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, Bombay Education Society's Press, 1892, pp. xx and 296, 4to.

² To be published, with a Historical Introduction, by MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND Co., London, in two volumes, 4to.

Many of the questions thus raised were so detailed and intricate that it would have been manifestly impossible to attempt their solution without carefully studying on the spot those topographical facts which alone could elucidate them. It was, therefore, fortunate for my researches in this direction that I was able during successive years to make a series of antiquarian tours in Kaśmīr. These acquainted me not only with the extant ancient remains of the Valley, but also with its actual topography and that of the neighbouring mountain regions.¹ I cannot feel too grateful for the advantage I thus enjoyed. It has allowed me in more than one case to fix with certainty the position of important ancient sites, which no amount of philological acrobacy would have sufficed to locate correctly.

2. In order to place before the student of the Kaśmīr Chronicle the results of these researches, as well as the evidence on which they were based, the preparation of maps appeared necessary that would show the modern topography of the country in full detail together with the ancient sites and local names identified. While considering the means for the execution of such maps I received in the autumn of 1896 the generous offer of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to bear the cost connected with their preparation, on the understanding that the maps would be published also in the Society's Journal with a separate explanatory memoir. I accepted this offer all the more readily as it gave me the desired opportunity of treating the subject of the early geography of Kaśmīr in a connected form and before a larger public. For the liberal assistance thus rendered to me, I wish to record here my sincere thanks. I owe special obligations to Dr. G. A. GRIERSON, C.S., C.I.E., and Dr. A. F. R. HOERNLE, C.I.E., whose kind offices were mainly instrumental in securing the above arrangement.

The successful execution of the maps as now published was rendered possible by the ready co-operation of Colonel J. WATERHOUSE, I.S.C., late Assistant Surveyor General, in charge of the Lithographic and Photographic Office of the Survey of India Department. The preparation of a new ground map to show on a sufficiently large scale the details of the modern topography of Kaśmīr would have cost much trouble and entailed very heavy, almost prohibitory, expense. At the same time it had to be considered that there were no other materials available for such a map but those supplied by the Trigonometrical

¹ The tours referred to occupied the greatest part of my summer vacations in 1888, 1889, 1891, 1892, 1894 and were supplemented by shorter visits to particular sites during the summers of 1895-96.

Survey operations in Kaśmīr, 1856-60, which had been embodied on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch in the corresponding sheets of the 'Atlas of India.'

It hence appeared to me the most convenient plan to use as a ground-map a mechanical reproduction of that portion of the 'Atlas of India' which contains Kaśmīr and the adjacent territories. Over this ground-map the entries relating to the ancient topography of the country could be printed in a distinguishing colour. This plan having received Colonel Waterhouse's approval, the required portions of the engraved plates containing Sheets 27 and 28 of the 'Atlas,' were transferred to the stone and the copies of the larger map reproduced from the latter by lithography. A similar process was used for the smaller map showing the capital, ŚRĪNAGAR, and its environs on the enlarged scale of 1 mile to 1 inch. But in this case the original map which was not engraved but only zincographed, had to be retraced on the stone.¹

In the case of either map the entries marking ancient sites and names were printed in red over the ground-map from a separate stone. In order to distinguish at a glance the old local names in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī from those known only to the later Chronicles and other sources, the former were shown in GROTESQUE type and the latter in *Italic*.

By following the method here briefly explained it was possible to provide maps which exhibit in all needful detail the latest and most authentic survey of Kaśmīr and at the same time show clearly all important features of the old topography. The success of the technical execution is due mainly to the great care and attention bestowed on it by Colonel WATERHOUSE and his staff. For this as well as much valuable advice accorded to me in connection with the work I may be allowed to offer here my grateful acknowledgments.

3. It has already been stated that the maps here presented are in the first place intended to illustrate those data of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr which are contained in KALHAṆA'S Chronicle. But in addition to the old local names and sites taken from this our most important source of information those mentioned in the later Sanskrit Chronicles and other Kaśmīrian texts have also been inserted as far as they can claim antiquity and interest. These maps may, therefore, equally well serve to illustrate a comprehensive account of the historical topography of Kaśmīr, such as I shall attempt to give here, up to the close of the Hindu epoch.

Arrangement of memoir.

¹ The original of this smaller ground-map had appeared as an inset in the "Map of Jummoo, Kashmir and Adjacent Territories," 4 miles to 1 inch, published by the Survey of India, 1861.

In treating this subject it appears to me most convenient to examine first the sources of information from which our knowledge regarding the ancient topography of Kaśmīr is drawn. I shall next proceed to notice what we can learn from these sources as to the general physical features of Kaśmīr geography and their bearing on the historical and economical conditions of the country during the Hindu period. In the last chapter I intend to discuss the political divisions of the territory and to indicate briefly the information available to us regarding the particular places of historical or religious interest.

Most of the data upon which this account of the old topography of Kaśmīr is based, are contained in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, and have therefore already been explained by me in the notes which accompany my translation of that work. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition I shall refer to these notes for all such detailed evidence as could not conveniently be set forth within the limits of the present paper.

4. Before, however, closing these preliminary remarks it is necessary to refer briefly to those few publications **Earlier publications.** in which facts bearing on the old topography of Kaśmīr have received an earlier treatment.

In view of what has been said above we naturally turn first to the works which have dealt directly with the interpretation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Dr. WILSON who was the first European to study the Chronicle in the original, published an abstract of the contents of the first six Books as early as 1825.¹ He seems to have fully realized the importance of an accurate and sober examination of the geographical questions connected with the narrative. The textual materials at his disposal were, however, extremely defective, and European knowledge of Kaśmīr restricted at the time solely to the accounts of BERNIER and FORSTER. He could hence scarcely do more than indicate the more or less corrupt modern equivalents by which the Persian Chronicles render some of the Kaśmīr local names taken from Kalhaṇa's account. The judgment and accuracy with which Dr. Wilson discussed the Chronicle's notices of countries and places situated outside Kaśmīr and better known at that time, shows sufficiently that only the defective character of the available materials prevented that distinguished Sanskrit scholar from doing justice to the task.

The elaborate commentary with which Mr. TROYER accompanied his French translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī,² does not represent any material advance beyond the contents of Wilson's Essay. Yet Mr. Troyer

¹ *An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv., 1825, pp. 1 sqq.

² *Rājatarāṅgiṇī on Histoire des rois du Kachmīr*, Paris, 1840-52.

had already the whole text of the Chronicle to refer to, and in the meantime a considerable amount of information about Kaśmīr had become available through the works of travellers like Moorcroft, Jacquemont, Vigne, Von Hügel, and others. The serious shortcomings which characterize Mr. Troyer's labors notwithstanding his patient devotion to the task, have already been fully indicated by Prof. Bühler.¹ Detailed reference to the defects of the topographical notes is hence unnecessary.

The English translation of the Chronicle published in the years 1879-87 by Babu Jogesh Chunder DUTT makes no attempt whatever to elucidate the many points of topographical interest. Though the translation itself is decidedly better than that of Mr. Troyer, yet it necessarily shares the defects arising from the use of the same corrupt text. Both versions strikingly demonstrate the importance of topographical researches by the frequent instances in which the translators have mistaken local names for words of ordinary meaning or *vice versa*.²

The advantages offered for enquiries of this kind by a personal acquaintance with the country were fully illustrated by the valuable contributions which General (then Captain) CUNNINGHAM was able to make to our knowledge of ancient Kaśmīr in connection with his visit to the Valley in November 1847. Though his stay was short and primarily devoted to a survey of the more conspicuous of the temple-ruins still extant, he succeeded in identifying correctly a number of important ancient sites such as *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* 'the old capital,' *Jyeṣṭheśvara*, *Mārtāṇḍa*, *Padmapura*, *Pattana*, *Khonamuṣa*.³

General Cunningham subsequently had occasion to discuss comprehensively these localities in his *Ancient Geography of India*, a work which, notwithstanding its deficiencies in detail, amply testifies to the great antiquarian experience and natural acumen of its author. The chapter on the "Kingdom of Kashmir"⁴ utilizes the evidence afforded by the Chinese sources and Alberūnī, and indicates correctly the old names of the petty hill states to the south and south-east of Kaśmīr (*Rājapurī*, *Vallāpura*, *Campā*, *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*). It further adds to the identifications already mentioned equally important notes on *Pravara-pura*, the present S'rīnagar, *Vijayeśvara*, *Huṣkapura*, *Juṣkapura*, *Jayapura*. If General Cunningham was less successful in his attempts at

¹ See *Report on a tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir*, J. Bo. B. R. A. S. 1877, pp. 55 sqq.

² For some of the imaginary territories and places which figure in these translations, see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1898, pp. 67 sqq.

³ See his *Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture as exhibited in the temples of Kashmir*, J. A. S. B., 1848, pp. 242-327.

⁴ See *Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, pp. 89-103, 128-141.

locating *Parikhāsapura* and some other ancient sites, this may fairly be attributed to his inability to consult the Sanskrit sources in the original.¹

Professor LASSEN'S "Indische Alterthumskunde" gives an extensive analysis of the historical contents of Kalhaṇa's work.² But his explanations as to the ancient localities mentioned are generally only there well-founded where they are based on General Cunningham's researches. Ancient territories and places are often connected with modern localities merely on the ground of a faint resemblance of the names and without sufficient internal evidence. This tendency has frequently led that distinguished scholar to ignore the narrow territorial limits within which most of the local and ethnic names occurring in the later portion of Kalhaṇa's narrative have to be looked for. It is only natural that identifications of real (or imaginary) localities which transferred the scene of contemporary events described by Kalhaṇa to territories so distant as Lahore, Eastern Afghānistān or Ajmīr,³ have helped to produce a very ill-focussed picture of the political power and extent of the Kaśmīr kingdom in those later times.

The merit of having definitely shown the right methods and means for re-constructing the ancient geography of Kaśmīr belongs to Professor BÜHLER. This great scholar by whose lamented death so many branches of Indian research have suffered irreparable loss, had in the masterly

¹ If particular proof were wanted to show that a through acquaintance with the modern topography of a country is in itself not sufficient to lead to useful results in regard to its historical geography, Mr. VIGNE'S work, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo*, (London, 1842, two Vols.) would supply it. This estimable artist and traveller evidently took a great deal of interest in the antiquities of the country which he traversed in many directions. His book, however, as far as the old geography of Kaśmīr is concerned, furnishes scarcely anything more than a series of amusingly naïve etymologies of local names. Thus *Hūrāpōr* (Sūrāpura) is "the Diamond City," *Pāndrēṭhan* (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) the place of the 'Pandus and Duryndun' (*i. e.*, Duryodhana), *Sōpūr* (Suyyapura) 'the Golden City,' etc.; see i. p. 267, ii. pp. 37, 157.

Mr. Vigne is responsible for the strange derivation of the name of the Kaśmīr capital, *Srīnagar* (Srīnagara), or as he spells it, 'Siri-Nagur,' from "*Surya Nagur*, the city of the sun" (p. ii. 137). Judging from the persistence with which the error has been copied by a succession of modern writers on Kaśmīr, this etymology bids fair to establish itself as a piece of orthodox creed with European visitors to the Valley.

² See *Indische Alterthumskunde* (second ed.), ii. pp. 885-915; iii. pp. 984-1128.

³ I refer to locations like those of *Lohara* (Loharin) at Lahore; of the [imaginary] province *Kampanā* in eastern Afghānistān; of the *Lavanya* tribe near the Sambhar salt lake; of the feudal chief *Koṣṭheśvara* at Kōṭgarh on the Satelej, etc.; comp. *Ind. Alterth.* iii. pp. 1057, 1041, 1069, 1105, and for the supposed territorial extent of the Kaśmīr state, iii. p. 1119.

report on his Kaśmīr tour lucidly set forth the work that remained to be done in connection with the Rājatarāṅgīnī.¹ He had there shown that for a full comprehension of its contents a minute study of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr was indispensable. He was the first to call attention to the ample materials which are offered for such a study by the later Sanskrit Chronicles, the Nilamatapurāṇa and other Kaśmīrian texts. But he also realized that “some of the geographical questions would probably require a final re-examination in Kaśmīr.”

Other labors prevented my lamented master from undertaking this task himself. But the most graphic and accurate notices which his Report gives of those sites in the Valley he had himself been able to visit,² prove convincingly—if any proof were needed—that no important point connected with the old topography of the country could easily have escaped his attention. The particular identifications first made by Prof. Bühler will be duly mentioned in their proper places. It was a source of true satisfaction to me that I was able during my last year’s visit to Europe to present personally the departed with the first clean copies of the maps now published. That the results recorded in them were such as obtained his approval, will always appear to me the highest reward for the labour their preparation and the preceding researches had cost me.

¹ See *Report on a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmir*, Bombay, 1877, p. 58.

² See *loc. cit.*, pp. 4–18.

